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ECONOMIC HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY

SUMMARY

Mistakes of economic history and of philology when dealing with origins, 240. — Philology cannot be dissociated from economic history, 241. — Evidences of early importation of steel from China, 242. — Weighing machines probably introduced from China, 245. — The origin of the tartan manufacture in Central Asia. The evidence thereof in the languages of Europe, 246. — The fallacy of the Garbo wool and cloth theory of the economists, 252. — Garbo applied to another textile than woollens, 255. — Garbo parchment, 256. — Garbo identified with the goat, 258. — Garbo an expression for A 1, 259. — Fallacy of the economic theory as to the origin of the grocer, 261. — What constituted "retail" in the early Middle Ages, 262. — The relation of "retail" to "wholesale," 264. — Analysis of the Ordinance of the Fishmongers of Amiens for this relation, 266. — The grossier more nearly a commission merchant, 267. — Genesis of the English grocer. Ordinances for weighing "goods of weight," 271. — The grocer so called from selling "grosses," 273. — The grocer not so called from engrossing commodities, 274. — The spicerers and grocers of Byzantium, the prototypes of the Italian and, hence, of the English spicerers and grocers, 275. — Origin of the word "spices," 276. — Origin and meaning of the word "avoir du pois," 277.

IN dealing with origins the writers of economic and historical subjects are wont to proceed from the data of the philologist, tacitly assuming that the science of words is based on immutable foundations and that they cannot take upon themselves the responsibility of an empiric investigation where etymology has once for all determined the facts by philosophic deductions and mechanical laws. But, by making light of the chronological element and by creating the somewhat arbitrary divisions of families of languages, philology is led to underrate the importance of the great trade routes, the geographic advance of civilization, the

constant and endless interaction of custom, tale, and invention, which run counter to the families of languages and know not of individual tongues; and hence it has not furnished the proper material for the history of the economic development and cannot serve as a check on the historic method.

Philological activity has reduced itself to a number of specialized fields which, tho useful from the standpoint of mere classification, are contrary to historic facts. We may speak of Germanic, Romance, Classical, Indo-Germanic languages, but these subdivisions exclude conditions which find no place in the narrowed compass and, on the other hand, accentuate resemblances which are either accidental or have entered from without. There never was a Germanic, or Indo-Germanic, or Romance community or civilization. The historic evolution of Spain is quite different from that of Italy or Roumania, and there never was a time when the linguistic stock of these three was one and undivided. From the very start there were enormous differences, and if we proceed from the common Latin, we no longer have the substratum of Spain, Italy, or Roumania, but only a faint background on which the Iberian and Goth, Roman and Langobard, Dacian and Slav, have independently evolved themselves; and an entirely unrelated language, such as Hungarian, may as much represent the influence of the Roman civilization as does Latin Roumanian.

What has happened within historic times happened in prehistoric. Through the mixture of an original Indo-Germanic language at very different periods with very different linguistic stocks have arisen the many tongues which, by courtesy, we still denominate Indo-Germanic, even as, by discourtesy,

an octaroon, who has but one-eighth of negro blood in him, is called a negro. Hence it is absurd to predicate an Indo-Germanic or even a Germanic civilization, any more than one would think of establishing an "Urgeschichte" of Romance. It is only because the former are removed from documentary control that philologists have ventured on voluminous "Prehistoric Histories," while their statements in regard to historic times upon proper investigation as often prove wrong as right.

Philology cannot dissociate itself from the history of civilization in the treatment of the origin of words, for words are carried along roads of communication with the things which they represent, and it is idle to speculate on any prehistoric history until all the roads of communication have been traced and mapped out. These prehistoric histories base their conclusions on the universality of certain words in a linguistic group, but this is no more indicative of the presence of the things represented by these words in the original stock from which the group is derived than the universal use of the word "automobile" is indicative that the aborigines of Europe had invented this machine, just as the absence of a common word for "hand" cannot lead to the conclusion that the Indo-Germanic primitive man had not yet emerged from the quadruped stage.

I will illustrate the topsy-turviness of the philological method, as commonly practised,¹ by a few words of economic import which have, like all such words, emanated from great trade centers and have travelled along the customary trade routes, with little heed to linguistic affinities. The name of such words is

¹ The publication of a new periodical, *Wörter und Sachen*, by Meringer, Meyer-Lübke, and others, is a ray of light in a field of darkness.

legion, but the few treated here will suffice to indicate the path along which philology must walk, if it is to save itself from inanity, and to accentuate the close union which must subsist between philology and economic history. The two are inseparable wherever they overlap.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Schrader¹ gives a list of names for "steel" related to Persian *pūlād*; Syriac, *pīd*; Kurdish, *pīla*, *pola*, *pulad*; Pehlevi, *pōlāwat*; Armenian, *polovat*; Turkish, *pala*; Russian, *bulat*; Mizdzhegan, *polad*, *bolat*; Mongolian, *bolot*, *būlāt*, *huriāt*. He is unable to suggest an origin for these words. Fr. Müller² pointed out that the Pehlevi and Armenian should be *pola-pat* and suggested Greek *πολύπαταξ*, much-beaten, as the original word. A number of mistakes were thus committed. In the first place, it was not right to limit the words to their Indo-Germanic form and, therefore, suggest a Greek root-word. Secondly, *πολύπαταξ* could not under any conditions be connected with steel, because steel is the result of the carbonization of iron, and the much-beating is later applied to it as much as to copper, iron, gold, etc.; and, chiefly, because there is not a particle of evidence that the Greeks ever used the word as a designation for steel. Thirdly, not all the countries of Asia had been exhausted in search for similar names, and so the possible center of issue was dislocated. For, by adding Tibetan *p'olad*, Sulu *bālan*, Tagalog *patatim*, Ilocano *pāslip*, we at once see that the origin of the word may lie further to the east. Naturally

¹ Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1883, p. 287.

² Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. v, p. 186.

one thinks of China as the possible point of issue, for there steel was known in the third millenium before our era and we have the positive reference to steel in a Chinese writer of the fifth century B.C.¹ However, a perusal of the Chinese dictionary fails to furnish the word needed, for *kang* cannot lie at the foundation of *pūlād*. The difficulty is at once removed by inquiring into the chief use of steel in China. We learn that the most important article made from it is the flintsteel, which "every Chinaman, as a true Mongol, always carries with him."² Now flintsteel is in Chinese *hwo-lien*, in the Cantonese dialect *fo-lim*, literally "fire-sickle." The ancient pronunciation can only be guessed at. Tho given as *ho-liem*, *ha-liem*, *hwo-liem*, the final consonant may have been less sonant and understood by hearers as a *b* or *p*, hence, while this *fo-lim* is rendered in Tagalog as *patalim*, in Sulu as *bālan*, Ilocano gives it as *pāslip*. The variant rendering of the first part is due to the wide, open pronunciation of *fo*.

I have no hesitancy in adding Greek *χάλυψ*, *χαλύβδιον*, steel, to this group. The assumption, already expressed by the Greeks, that *χάλυψ* was so called from the *Χάλυβες*, the nation near the Pontus, who mined iron and from whom the iron for their steel was obtained, only indicates an attempt to explain the origin of the word, in the light of the fact that their iron was received from the East, or, what is also probable, the name of the Eastern nation from whom they received their iron was so changed as to bring it in harmony with the *χάλυψ*, which originally was derived from China, even as the Greeks

¹ L. Beck, *Die Geschichte des Eisens*, Braunschweig, 1884, vol. i, p. 294 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

named the Chinese Σῆρες, from σῆρ, the silk-worm, which is from Chinese *sze*, silk. That the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands and the Mongols should have derived their flintsteel from China is natural enough, and, indeed, life in the Mongolian steppes would have been impossible without this manner of striking fire, which had been in practice in China since the most remote antiquity, because of the absence of firewood. But it does not follow that all the words adduced by Schrader are directly to be derived from the Chinese. The Armenian and Pehlevi *polapat* go back to the ninth century and are older than *pūlād*, or rather *fūlād*, the Persian form, to which most of the derivatives are related. The steel from Khorasan was famous in the Middle Ages, and it is, therefore, possible that the Mongolian and Tibetan words are formed from the Persian, but the Armenian and Pehlevi words, which may go back to an older *folapt*, bear such a striking resemblance to Greek χαλύβδιον that it is difficult without more evidence to say whether the Greeks derived the word from the immediate East or vice versa. At the same time Greek χαλυβ- in pronunciation so much resembles Old-Chinese *ha-liem* that one feels inclined to assign to it a priority. Judgment must here be suspended until the investigation by sinologues may cast some new light on the early relations of China with the West.¹

Meanwhile I shall attempt to trace a few more commercial products to China. The steelyard and balance had been in use in China milleniums ago,

¹ There is nothing new in the assumption of Greek relations with China. They have been pointed out by A. Gladisch (*Die Hyperboreer und die alten Schinesen*, Leipzig, 1866) and Hepke (*Die kulturgeschichtlichen Beziehungen der alten Chinesen und der Hellenen*, in *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. vi, pp. 171-186), and B. Laufer (*Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen*, in *Toung Pao*, série II, vol. ix, pp. 429-452) has shown that the gold-digging ants of Herodotus are not a mere myth, but point to a commercial relation between Greece and the extreme East.

but unfortunately I know of no treatment by modern writers which would explain the use of the various weighing machines mentioned in the Chinese dictionaries. Such a treatise, I am sure, would clear up many complex problems of mediaeval European trade. What I offer here is only tentative, a mere exposition of method, and not a final solution. The Chinese name for the balance is *tēn-ping*, which appears in Annamese *thien-binh*, Japanese *tempin*, *tembin*, Malay and Sulu *timbāng*, Tagalog *timbang*; that is, it is known to the whole extreme East. The Annamese has also the form *can-thang-bang*, generally applied to the steelyard, where *can* is identical with Chinese *kin*, a utensil for determining the weight of a thing, *thang* is Chinese *tǎng*, small steelyard for weighing money, *bang* is the same as Chinese *ping* in *tēn-ping*. An older shorter *can-thang* must be assumed by the side of Chinese *le-tǎng*, a balance for weighing money, and this is unquestionably the origin of Hindustani *kāntā*, small goldsmith's scale. This Hind. *kāntā* cannot be derived from Arab, *qantār*, on account of the difference in spelling, and Arab. Turk. *qantār* (Greek *καντάρι*, Albanian *kandar*, the large steelyard) has apparently arisen from a confusion of the Eastern term with Low Latin *centenarium*, Greek *κενταρίον* a hundredweight.¹ There is in

¹ There are other Arabic words which are ultimately derived from Chinese. One of the most important Arabic words introduced into mediaeval trade is *samsar*, broker, generally known in the Italicized form *sensal*. It has been pointed out that this Arabic word is originally Persian, but it cannot be explained from any Persian root-word. Besides, we have no record of any advanced commercial enterprise originating in Persia, which only acted as an intermediary between the East and West. This Persian *samsar* is nothing but Chinese *chingchi*, broker, from *ching* (*king*), a person through whose hands an affair passes and *chi* (*ki*), to record. The Arabs began to trade with China in the beginning of the seventh century (A. von Kremer, *Culturge-schichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Wien, 1877, vol. ii, p. 280), hence it is not unlikely that many Arabic words of Chinese origin were directly derived from China. On the relations between the Arabs and the Chinese, see E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies, and other Western Countries, Mentioned in Chinese Books*, London, 1871.

Chinese an older name for the steelyard, the classical *keuen-hǎng*, from *keuen*, poise, and *hǎng*, the beam placed transversely, and a later one, *heng ping*, which in the older pronunciation sounded very nearly *keng-pang*. One of these forms is responsible for Persian *kapān*, whence it was taken into Arabic *qabbān*, steelyard, and Greek *καμπανός*, steelyard, which is for the first time mentioned in the fourth century. It thus seems that the oldest dissemination of the word and thing was by the way of Persia, a somewhat later one by the way of India, and a more modern one in the extreme East.

That silk and silk wares were exported from Asia to Europe and that the Chinese traded with the West at least 1000 B.C. are well-established facts, and it can be shown that at least one product of the European looms of the twelfth century originated — who knows how far back? — in Central Asia, whither it was at a still earlier date brought from China. In the Middle Ages there was known in Europe a cloth *tiretaine*, which with the *burel* and *burnet* belonged to the most popular products of West-European manufacture. Let us see what information one can gain on the matter from the most approved and scientific dictionaries. Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, in their French Dictionary, inform us that it seems to be derived from French *tirer*, to pull, and that it was a kind of cloth, half linen, half cotton. Monlau¹ thinks Spanish *tiritaña* is older than French *tiretaine* and that it is derived from the verb *tiritar*, to tremble with cold, on account of the rustling sound which it makes, or from English *tartan*. These are the kind of etymologies that my janitor indulged in when he looked at the radiator and called it a “ready heater.”

¹ Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana, Madrid, 1881.

We turn to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the great repository of quotations and etymological blunders, and find under *tartan*: "It has been conjectured to a. Fr. *tiretaine* (1247 in Godef. *Compl.*) 'a kind of cloth, half wool, half linen or cotton,' for which a variant *tertaine* is quoted in Godefroy of date 1487. . . . Another conjecture would identify the cloth with that called *tartar* or *tartarin*, of which the 16th c. forms *tartarne*, *tarterne*, somewhat approach *tartane*. But the quotations for *tartar* and *tartarin* point to a richer and more costly cloth." Under *tartar* we read: "OF. *tartare*, *tartaire* (c. 1300 in Godefroy), Med. L. *tartarium*, *tartareus* (pannus) 'cloth of Tartary,' a rich kind of cloth, probably silk, used in 15th and 16th centuries . . . *tartariums*, Colonel Yule believes, were so called 'not because they were made in Tartary, but because they were brought from China through the Tartar dominions.' "

Absolutely no conception can be formed of what the mysterious cloth was, where it came from, or of what economic import it may have been. We seek for information in Francisque-Michel,¹ but with little more success. To judge from the quotations given by him, *tartare* or *tartaine*, *tartara*, *tartariscus*, etc., was some kind of striped material, of which silk was the main ingredient, and which was sometimes worked with gold, and he did not hesitate to announce that *tartare* may have been applied in the European factories to an inferior article, on account of the sensation produced by the silk product.² Francisque-Michel almost guessed correctly, and had he proceeded to expand his investigations to the whole of Europe, he

¹ *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent et autres tissus précieux*, Paris, 1854.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167 ff.

undoubtedly would have ascertained the true state of affairs. The exclusive treatment of a word as French or Spanish cannot lead to the truth, and even the history of the thing can lead to no results so long as the historian is satisfied with the philologist's method of drawing his conclusions chiefly from library references. The fact is reversed. Only after a word has had its run in the mercantile, industrial, and civic life does it enter literature, and the treatment of the same by poets and historians reflects only what it was thought to be at the period of such mention, not what it originally was or even continued to be in every-day use. To ascertain the origin and meaning of *tiretaine* and its possible relation to *tartan*, *tarletan*, *tartarin*, we must first of all discover from a vast number of references what the underlying chief connotation of *tiretaine* was. Only then shall we be entitled to philological and economic assumptions. For purpose of geographical convenience I shall proceed from the west to the east.

In Portugal *tiritana* and *tricana* are a coarse woolen overcoat worn by peasants of Coimbra, but some give it as a kind of petticoat, also a countrywoman, whereas in Spain *tiritaña*, *tiritaina* is a kind of silk, but *tiritaina* also means "a thing of little value." Cotgrave says of French *tiretaine* "linsie-woolsie, or a kind thereof, worne ordinarily by the French peasants." In 1253 there is mention of a manufacturer of *tiretaines* as *tiretier*.¹ It is generally mentioned together with *galebrun*,² of which it was some kind of a variety. In the Vaudois country *tredaina* is a coarse cloth

¹ "Et se tiretier tissoit tiretaine ki ne fust boine et loials et ri n'eust deux aunes de largece en ros. (Bans des tiretaines, de 1253), in Jaubert, Glossaire du centre de la France, Paris, 1864, sub *tiretier*.

² Le livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau, by Lespinasse and Bonnardot, in Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris, Paris, 1879, p. 274.

made of native wool,¹ in Geneva it is *tredaina*, *trépelanna*, and at Lausanne *tredon*, *tredan* means "noise, tumult." In the Languedoc we find *tirintin*, throughout the Provence *tirantèino*, *tirlantèino*, *tirlintèino*, *tirangèino*, *tinteino*, *tiratagno* in the sense of *tiretaine* or cloth of a poor quality, *tarlatano*, *tarlantano*, *tarlatan*, cloth of poor quality, *tridagno*, *tridaino*, *tridèino*, cloth of poor quality, rags.² In Italy, *mezzalana*, "any woollie, or linsie-woollie stuffe, half wool and silke, or linnen,"³ seems exactly to correspond to our *tiretaine*, and the term seems to have taken the place, as a popular and correct rendering of what was called *tuttalana*. This *tuttalana*,⁴ sometimes called *tuttalana bassetta*, was no more of pure wool than some of our "all-wool" products, and is in all probability a corruption of some such word as *turtuna*, even as *tredaina* has in Geneva been corrupted into *trépelanna*, as *tiritana* has in Portugal been changed into *tricana*, and, as I suspect, French *tricot*, for the first time mentioned by Cotgrave as a term at Orleans, is but a corruption of the same *tiretaine*. To this aspect of the word I hope to return at some future time.

In Holland *tiereteyn*, *dierteyn* is given as an equivalent for burel.⁵ In High German it is recorded from the fifteenth century on as *dirdenday*, *diradey*, *dirledey*, *dirmadey*, *dermentey*, *dirdumdey*, *dirtmedey*, *dilmedey*, coarse cloth, half flax, half wool, a mixture of corn and barley, hodge-podge,⁶ but in Lower Germany it is

¹ D. Boidel, *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande*, Lausanne, 1866.

² Mistral, *Dictionnaire provençal-français*.

³ Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, London, 1611.

⁴ "15 brachia *tuctalani* Florent. coloris Persi," R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, III. Theil, Berlin, 1901, p. 73.

⁵ "Vestis lino et lana confecta . . . burellum." Kilian, *Etymologicum teutonicæ linguae*.

⁶ Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*.

recorded from the fourteenth century on as *tirletei*, *derdendei*, *trittendei*, *tirumtei*, and in Ulm *durendei* is the nickname for an awkward fellow.¹ Amazing is the effect of this word upon the Russian language. It does not seem to be recorded as an appellation for cloth, but has become the foundation for the common designation of "fool" and "bad." The popular forms under which the word for "fool" occurs in Russia show that they owe their origin to the German traders in the north. These popular forms are: *duraley*, *duranday*, *durandas*, *durynda*, *durašman*, *duren'*, and the last is also the common word for "fool" in Polish. Out of these variant forms have arisen the literary words *durak*, fool, and *durnoy*, bad. No other Slavic languages have any derivatives from this stem.

All the above-mentioned words obviously arise from one ground form which must be able to produce the following meanings: (1) striped cloth, (2) linsie-woolsie, and silk, (3) mixture, hodge-podge, racket, nonsense. As the tendency in the manufacture of the Middle Ages usually was towards the deterioration of goods, a striped mixture of silk with some other substance would be the material which would satisfy all the above-mentioned conditions. This we find in Manchu *turtun*, étoffe crêpée,² Mongol *turtum*, a stuff woven from silk and camel hair,³ and these are from Chinese *ch'e-tseu*, literally silk-gauze or silk-hemp.⁴ The deterioration to a linsie-woolsie at once connects Portuguese *tiritana* with Scotch *tartan*, which is the same kind of striped goods, and it will be observed

¹ Schiller und Lübben, Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch.

² Amyot, Dictionnaire tartare-mantchou françois, Paris, 1789, vol. ii, p. 325.

³ K. Th. Golstunski, Mongol'sko-russki slovar', S. Peterburg, 1895, vol. iii, p. 165.

⁴ For a fuller treatment of *burels* see my article Materialien zu einer Geschichte der Kleidung im Mittelalter, ii, in Revue de linguistique, 1911.

in the costumes of the Middle Ages that peasants are frequently represented in checkered garments. On the other hand, the mixture of silk and wool or silk and hemp accounts for the muslin of poor quality called *tarlatan*. In its capacity of striped silk goods of a better quality it became responsible for the silks striped with gold which are several times mentioned in Francisque-Michel's quotations.

We must still account for the presence of an originally Eastern manufacture in the European factories of the thirteenth century or even earlier. *Tiretaine* formed so important a part of Cologne manufacture in the fourteenth century that the manufacturers, called, as in the French of the thirteenth century, *tyrteyer*, maintained a guildhall of their own known as *tirteyhuyss*,¹ and it was, in all probability, produced in Mayence in the twelfth century, to judge from its association with *galebrun*, which certainly was a product of Mayence looms at that time. It was, in the twelfth century, imported into Montpellier under the name of *tiretum* and taxed like *cendatum*.² But Mayence must have been in close relations with Turkestan even earlier than the eleventh century, to judge from the large number of Samarkand silver coins of the early part of the tenth century and the many Eastern wares found there by an Arab traveller.³

¹ W. Stein, Akten zur Geschichte der Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, Bonn, 1895, in the Vocabulary.

² "De tireto et cendato, II den." Liber instrumentorum memorabilium, Montpellier, 1884-86, pp. 408 and 438.

³ Ch. M. Fraehn, Beleuchtung der merkwürdigen Notiz eines Arabers aus dem XI. Jahrhundert über die Stadt Mainz, in Mémoires de l'académie impériale de sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg, VI. série, sciences politiques, histoire et philologie, vol. II, p. 87 ff.

GARBO WOOL

"In antiquarian and topographic works on the history of Florence," says Doren,¹ "and in general philological discussions the word *garbo* has played an important part, especially in the Florentine literature of the sixteenth century: a mass of sagacity and learning, but also much fancifulness and arbitrary commenting has been wasted on its explanation and on its vicissitudes. Like a red thread there passes the same error through all these expositions, and this error is closely connected with the history of our industry. . . . If one goes back far enough, *garbo* is the Italian designation for the Sultanate Algarve in the west of modern Portugal, from which, *as we saw before*, the finest of cloths, manufactured by the Arabs, was in early times imported to Italy: a small street even then received its name from the sale of this cloth, and a family was named *del Garbo* from this street or, perhaps, because it chiefly busied itself with the importation of these stuffs. Finally, the name *Algarve* clearly is derived from Arabic *garbi*, western, since that Sultanate designated the extreme west of all the Arabian realms of the Mediterranean."

That "as we saw before" is not based on any historic proof, but only on a reference to Davidsohn.² If we now turn to Davidsohn,³ we find the following: "How extensive the Florentine trade with Algarvia cloth was in the beginning of the thirteenth century is

¹ A. Doren, *Die Florentiner Wollentuchindustrie vom vierzehnten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1901, vol. i, p. 65 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³ R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin, 1896, vol. i, p. 793.

evidenced by the fact that the street where it was located was called the *Garbo* even then, it having preserved the name until recent times, and that among the customers of a banker, of whose ledgers of the year 1211 chance has saved for us a few pages, no branch of business is more frequently mentioned than that of the merchants of the *Garbo*." Thus we move in a vicious circle: "The cloth came from Algarve, consequently it was called de *Garbo*," and "the wool was called de *Garbo*, consequently it came from Algarve." The confusion is increased by Schulte¹ who identifies *Garbo* with *barbaresca* and has it come from northwest Africa. Thereupon Davidsohn took Doren's part² and tried to prove that *Garb* originally referred to southern Portugal, and Schaube³ thought he had settled the whole matter by pointing out the highly developed cloth industry of the Mussulmans in northern Africa. Thus philologists and historians have gyrated about the zero point without making the slightest advance in any direction. It is the old trick of excluding from consideration such matters as might widen their horizon, on the stereotyped plea that they are foreign to their specialized departments, whereas such specialization is generally suicidal and invariably increases the difficulty of a thoro investigation.

The amazing thing is that nowhere outside Tuscany do we ever hear of *Garbo* wool and *Garbo* cloth, altho *Garb*, which the Arabic scholars identify with western Algeria and eastern Morocco,⁴ was well known to

¹ A. Schulte, *Garbo und Florenz*, in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, vol. lviii, p. 39 ff.

² *Garbowolle und Garbotuche*, in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, vol. vii, p. 385 ff.

³ *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, München und Berlin, 1906, p. 780.

⁴ Schulte, *op. cit.*, p. 41 f.

the Latin peoples, and occasionally was visited by them for commercial purposes.¹ In vain one would look in Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal documents for such a mention. Even in Tuscany there is an enormous difference between *Garbo* wool and wool imported from *Garb*. In Siena *lana di garbo* is apparently placed far above all other kinds of wool, whereas in Pisa, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, *lana di garbo* is considered of about the same quality as *francesca* or *francigena*. Doren² has shown that under the latter name English wool is to be understood and that, furthermore, the *lana francesca* continued to rise in value, while *garbo* occupied a secondary position. But in the middle of the thirteenth century *garbo* was unquestionably the finest kind of wool or cloth, as is shown by the fact that at Bologna *lana de garbo* alone could be dyed³ whereas at a later time English wool shared this privilege to an even higher degree. Doren has pointed out the great confusion that later developed in connection with the term *garbo*, but with that we have no concern here. We wish only to ascertain the original meaning of the expression and to point out the reason for a possible later confusion. In 1315 *lana de garbo* is quoted in relation of 50 to 65, as compared with English wool,⁴ whereas in a tariff list of

¹ "In itinere Cecille, in bucio nave Sancti Nicholai, et inde ubicumque Deus ei ordinabit, causa negotiandi, in *Garbum* vel in Ispaniam." L. Blancard, Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen-âge, Marseille, 1884, vol. i, p. 101.

² Die Florentiner Wollentuchindustrie, vol. i, p. 68.

³ L. Frati, Statuti di Bologna dall' anno 1245 all' anno 1267, Bologna, 1869-77, vol. ii, p. 72: "Item statuimus quod nulla lana debeat habere tincturam nisi fuerit *lana de garbo* vel etiam varia, et si lana aliqua vel pannum inveniretur que tinta esset et non nuaria vel de garbo auferratur ab eo et comburatur in curia comunis." What varia, nuaria is is not clear.

⁴ R. Davidsohn, Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz, III. Theil, p. 132: "Entschädigung zu zahlen pro qualivet salma lane lavate de Garbo 50 fl. aur. et lane Fragigine 65 fl. auri."

1307 wool from Garbo is almost the lowest in the list.¹ Whereas a salma of English, Scotch, and Burgundy wool is quoted at 15s., and a salma of wool from Catalonia and the Provence at 10s., *lane sucide de Tunis, Bugea et Garbo* is given at 2s. 6d., that is, the proportion is here 10 to 60, as against 50 to 65 before. There is here a contemporary confusion which cannot be explained on any theory of deterioration in the product, a confusion which, as we shall see, was universal along the Mediterranean.

In a tariff of Perpignan of 1284 and 1295 we have a reference to *teles de Garp*: "*teles del Garp*" (*de Garp*), *e vintenes, e canabes, e totes autres teles*,² while in the *Leudaire de Saverdun* (ann. 1327)³ *carbe* filat *e non filat* follows after *lana* and *li*. In Raynouard's Provençal Dictionary *carbe* = canabe, hemp, and this exactly suits the sense in the *Leudaire*, for after wool and flax one can think only of a hemp product, consequently the *del Garp* of Perpignan cannot be identical with *carbe* of Saverdun, since after *del Garp* comes *canabes* which is the same as *carbe*. What *vintenes* is I do not know; *vintenes* and *cannabe*, however, occur already in a Marseille tariff of 1228,⁴ and in a list of 1190 at Genoa⁵ but instead of being preceded by *teles del Garp*, they are preceded by *telas primas*.⁶

¹ Ibid., p. 102.

² Revue des langues romanes, vol. iv, p. 371, vol. v, p. 85. The editor, A. Alart, says: "Ce mot se retrouve encore dans le tarif de 1295, et nous sommes porté à le faire venir de l'arabe *el garb* (le couchant). Il s'agirait donc, dans ce sens, des toiles de l'ouest de la France?"

³ Ibid., vol. xvi, p. 108.

⁴ L. Méry et F. Guindon, Histoire analytique, et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du corps et du conseil de la municipalité de Marseille depuis le X^{me} siècle jusqu'à nos jours, Marseille, 1842, vol. i, p. 346.

⁵ Historiae patriae monumenta, vol. vii, col. 361.

⁶ Ibid., p. 345.

Obviously *del Garp* corresponds to *primas* and to English A1, but *tela* can only mean cloth made from flax, hemp, or cotton, consequently *del Garp* was in the thirteenth century in the Provence, as in Tuscany, a commercial expression of excellence, referring, however, not to wool or cloth, but to a textile fabric of either hemp or cotton. Since *tela de Garp* and *tela de Rems* pay a duty of 1dr., whereas "totes autres teles, o de Campanya, o d'Alemayna, o d'autra terra" ¹ pay 2dr., it is reasonable to suppose that *tela de Garp* was a native product and so was favored as against Champagne, German, or other foreign goods.

In the Statutes of Bologna of the thirteenth century we have a prohibition against the notary's use of paper *de garbo* ² or *garbitta*.³ That this is not a prohibition against the use of paper made of cotton fibre is evidenced by another statement of the tariff for paper in a Bologna MS. of the year 1289, where cotton paper is mentioned by the side of *garbexa* paper.⁴ Nor is there the slightest reason for the derivation of the word, with Frati, from Lat. *carbassus*, fine linen. *Garbo*, *garbitta*, *garbexa*, *garbesa* represent some North Italian dialectic words meaning "goat, kid," as can be shown by a number of regulations in regard to the use of wool in the manufacture of cloth. In Bologna no one was permitted to mix wool of the ox, goat, ass, or hare with that of the sheep unless it was to be used in the manufacture of a coarse kind

¹ Revue des langues romanes, vol. iv, p. 372.

² "Notarii qui praesunt statutis pro illo officio habeant bonas cartas pecorinas et non de garbo a comuni pro v. statutis scribendis." L. Frati, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 164.

³ "Et si sum notarius massaril . . . in bonis cartis scribam et non in garbittis." Ibid., vol. i, p. 147.

⁴ "De salma cartarum de Garbexe et pecudum; — de salma cartarum de banbaxe," ibid., vol. iii, p. 665, and repeated in a Florentine tariff of the year 1320: "cartarum de Garbese et pecudum, pro salma 4s. Bon., cartarum de bambagia 4s.," Davidsohn, Forschungen, vol. iii, p. 146.

of cloth known as mezzalano.¹ Venice was equally opposed to the use of goat's hair, which is here called *garbeta*² and still clearer is the prohibition at Brescia in 1248.³

The dialectic words *garbo*, *garbexa*, *garbitta* are in all likelihood adaptations of Provençal or Catalan words, for in Marseille and Barcelona there was a very active commerce in kid skins and fleeces in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the Prov. *cabritz*, Catal. *cabrits*, *cabrites* at once explain the endings *exa*, *itta* in the Italian words. We read in the Marseille tariff for 1228: "agnel e *cabritz* doni lo pareils — 1 obola,"⁴ and at Barcelona we often hear of kid skins, of "centum de *cabrites*" (ann. 1221) and "bala grossa de *cabrits*."⁵ However, the forms *capretto*,⁶ *crauto*⁷ are also recorded for Italian cities. So, too, the form *garbo* goes back to a Catalan word,

¹ "Statuimus et ordinamus quod aliquis de dicta societate non debeat emere . . . nec habere, nec tenere in domo pilum bovis vel *capricii* vel asini aut leporis, filatum vel non filatum, tinctum vel non tinctum . . . et si filatus vel mistus cum alia lana fuerit, aut de ea laboraverit, vel laborari aut poni fecerit in panno bixello vel agnello, condempnetur, . . . Item dicimus quod licitum sit omnibus de dicta societate facientibus pannos meçalanos habere et tenere de lanis prohibitis . . . causa ponendi et laborandi in pannis meçalanis." A. Gaudenzi, Statuti delle società del popolo di Bologna, Roma, 1896, vol. i, p. 370 f.

² "Statuimus et ordinamus quod pelliparii artis de agnellinis non audeat miscere agnellinas cum *garbetis*, nec etiam audeat cum dictis agnellinis pelles edorum miscere, nisi tantummodo in listis." G. Monticello, I capitolari delle arti veneziane, Roma, 1905, vol. ii, I, p. 108 (ann. 1265).

³ Item statuunt correctores quod pilum bovis vel *capre* non conducatur in civitatem Brixie . . . et nullus debeat in civitate vel extra in tota nostra virtute verberare nec texere neque filare neque tingere aut aliquo modo in panno ponere vel poni facere. . . . Item addunt correctores quod nequis audeat vel presumat ponere vel poni facere lanam grossam *capre* in panno." Hist. pat. mon., vol. xvi, col. 1584 (139).

⁴ Méry and Guindon, op. cit., vol. i, p. 348. Also in the Leuda de Tortosa (ann. 1249), *cabritz*, in Revue des langues romanes, vol. iv, p. 254, and at Perpignan (ann. 1284), *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 371.

⁵ A. Capmany y de Montpalan, Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona, Madrid, 1779-82, vol. ii, pp. 6 and 20.

⁶ At Chiesa, ann. 1327, in Hist. pat. mon., vol. xvii, col. 130; in Statuta Casalis (14. cen.) *ibid.*, vol. ii, col. 1013; in Bonaini, Statuti inediti della città di Pisa dal XII al XIV secolo, Firenze, 1857, vol. iii, p. 1004.

⁷ In Stat. Cas., op. cit., col. 960.

which is given in the Latinized form *cabru*, *cabrum*, "tota bestia de lana, o de *cabru*, tota carrega de pells aynines o *cabrum*,"¹ where the *Leuda de Tortosa*² and the tariff of Marseilles³ have *faixs daynines o de cabritz*, *agnel e cabritz*. The fluffy hair of the goat was employed in the manufacture of rugs, and, since it was almost exclusively Catalonia and the Provence that raised goats, we read in the Pisan tariff of Catalan and Provençal *carpitas*.⁴ This *carpita*, literally goat's (cloth), is the origin of English *carpet*.⁵

It is, therefore, obvious that in prohibiting the use of *carta de Garbo*, the prohibition was directed against the use of kid or goat parchment. It will now be easy to ascertain what was meant by *lana di Garbo*, *panno di Garbo*. Aeneas Sylvius⁶ tells us that in the island of Cyprus a woolen cloth, called *zambelotto*, our modern camlet, was made from the wool of goats, and Gesner⁷ quotes A. Alpagus, called *Bellunensis*, a translator of Avicenna's works, to the effect that camlet and other delicate stuffs were made from *lana merhazi*, which, in another exposition of Avicenna, is called *mathahaze*. This is Arabic *mar'izā*, *mar'izza*, fine goat-hair beneath the coarser one. Fraenkel⁸ thinks that this is from Aramaic *'amr 'iza*

¹ Leudes de Puigcerda et de la Vall de Queroll (ann. 1288), in *Revue des langues romanes*, vol. iv, p. 507.

² Loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ "De duabus *carpitis* provincialis, de una *carpita* Catalogne." Bonaini, op. cit., p. 114.

⁵ Vol. iii, p. 144. Provençal *carp*, fluffy, is, no doubt, derived from it. In the *Regula Templariorum* cap. 70 we read, "*carpitam* habeat in lecto qui sacco, culcitra vel coopertorio carebit," (Du Cange, sub *carpia*), and in a list of articles for the year 1156 in Genoa, we read of a pillow made of "what is called" carpet-wool, "duos cosinos unus de corre. et alius de *carpita* dicitur *lana*." Hist. pat. mon., vol. vi, col. 310.

⁶ Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini . . . Opera, Basileae, 1571, p. 377.

⁷ Conradi Gesneri medici Tigvrini, *Historiae animalium* Lib. I. de quadrupedibus uiulparis, Tigvri, 1551, p. 280.

⁸ S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden, 1886, p. 41 f.

lit. *lana capri* (which Fraenkel incorrectly translates by "Schaafwolle"), but in Spain *lana de cabras* was translated into Arabic by *guabra*,¹ which is from Arabic *wabar*, soft hair of camels, goats, hares, etc. This *guabra*, which by a strange coincidence sounds very much like the derivatives from Latin *capra*, goat, like *merhazi*, which by another rare coincidence can hardly be distinguished from *ma'azi*, de *capra*, represented the finest wool used in the manufacture of camlets and similar delicate textures. Apparently the Provençals and Catalonians continued to manufacture camlets, and *camelot* or *camellot de lana* even in the fourteenth century was considered far superior to cloth from sheep wool. In a franchise of the year 1277 given by Philippe le Hardi to Italian merchants carrying goods from Montpellier to Nîmes, camlets pay double the duty of other cloths.² In a Catalan sumptuary law of 1306 camlet is denominated *drap de lana*,³ and in another similar law for Barcelona, of the year 1330, permission is granted to women to wear garments of *camellot de lana*.⁴

Merhazi was the Arabic mercantile expression for AI in the manufacture of cloth and in wool. Now, the goats were in the Middle Ages abhorred in the central and southern countries,⁵ tho the Provence

¹ Petri Hispani De lingua arabica libri duo, by Paul de Lagarde, Gottingae, 1883, p. 289.

² A. Germain, Histoire du commerce de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1861, p. 279. There is probably some significance in the fact that at Saint Vaast d'Arras goats were listed in the same category with gold and slaves: "Omnis homo sive liber sive non, si emerit aut vendiderit aurum, vel servum vel ancillam vel *capram* Theloneum dabit," Van Drival, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Vaast d'Arras rédigé au XII^e siècle par Gutmans, Arras, 1875, p. 172, and similarly p. 176.

³ Revue des langues romanes, vol. vii, p. 55.

⁴ Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragón, vol. viii, p. 179.

⁵ See my article on Fran. *boucher*, in Byzantinisches, in Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.

and Catalonia never stopped raising them. When Bologna, in 1222 or 1232, invited certain strangers to come to that city and establish cloth factories, they were granted immunities from all public duties, but they were requested under no condition to use other wool in the manufacture of cloth than that of the sheep or lamb.¹ But, while the Tuscans prohibited the use of kid parchment, they were unable to oust the expression *de garbo*, a translation of the Arabic *mar'izā* and *guabra*, from the commercial vocabulary and, as *francigena* became the term even for English wool, so by a popular transformation *de garbo* was made *de Garbo*, "from a distant western land." Whether this *de garbo* represented the fine goat hair, from the Provence and Catalonia surreptitiously used, or a peculiar kind of sheep hair, I am not prepared to say. *Di garbo* became in Italian the equivalent for "especial refinement," hence *uomo di garbo*, a man of fine bearing. On the relation of English *garb* and similar words in the Romance languages I now need no longer dwell — they have nothing whatsoever to do with the commonly accepted derivations. That the manufacture of camlets and hence the use of the fine goat wool in their production was due to Eastern influence is evidenced by the presence in Paris of Saracen carpet makers, that is of makers of carpets in the Eastern fashion,² and Smirke³ is probably right when he identifies

¹ "Statutum est a concilio comunis bon. quod illi qui venerunt et nunc sunt in Civitate ista et nunc ad faciendum pannum lane sive pignolatum sint imunes a publicis factionibus per XX annos a tempore quo venerunt in bon. ex causa predicta, quod statutum cepit habere locum M.CC. xxij et factores panni lane teneantur et debeant facere fieri bonum pannum de bona lana et pura torta et proventa de pecudibus et agnis, et de non aliis animalibus." Frati, op. cit., vol. i, p. 494.

² Le livre des métiers, p. 102 ff.

³ Ancient Consuetudinary of the City of Winchester, in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. ix, p. 85.

the *ustil turs* of the Winchester Consuetudinary with a Turkish loom. When, however, Italy and other countries pressed the use of sheep wool in the manufacture of their cloths, the old Eastern industrial expressions became unintelligible and were often confused. This has happened with *tiretaine*, of whose vicissitudes from Central Asia to Europe I have dealt before, and to this, no doubt, is due the confusion of *garbo*, wool, that is fine goat wool, with wool from *Garbo*, a coarse product, which played an insignificant part in the importation of wool.

THE ENGLISH GROCER

Gross¹ defines the grocer as a wholesale dealer whose dealings probably by the early part of the fifteenth century became limited to grocery as now understood. The *Oxford English Dictionary* assumes a similar development of the word, and relates the two senses by stating that "the company of Grocers, said to have been incorporated in 1344, consisted of *wholesale* dealers in spices and foreign produce, hence probably the later sense 2." Not less confusing is the history of the grocer as understood by Cunningham²: "The pepperers had a leading share in nominating the officials who were admitted to the office of weighing *aver-du-pois*, and in 1316 they made ordinances for weighing. Some of the leading men among them appear to have been of Italian origin, and they certainly dealt in spices and other goods which reached England from the south of Europe; in 1315, they united with the spicerers in forming

¹ The Gild Merchant, Oxford, 1890, vol. 1, p. 128.

² W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 323, 324.

the Grocers' company, — a body which exercised a predominating influence on London affairs in the latter part of the fifteenth century. They may have derived their name from the popular complaint against them as *engrossers*, but it seems possible that they assumed it from their wholesale transactions, *en gros*, or even from their dignified office of weighing by the *peso grosso*; they came to have charge both of the King's and the wool beam — the *statera* and the *trone*."

The business of the grocer as such is of a purely English origin, but as the word is primarily French, we must first become acquainted with its application in France. In *Le livre des métiers* a *grossier* is mentioned among various workers in iron¹ and once as some kind of a carpenter.² It stands to reason that neither artisan produced anything at wholesale, which is precluded by the very enumeration of the workers, who are not classed as retail workers as against the *grossier*. The conception of what in the Middle Ages constituted retail and wholesale is so variable among economic historians³ that it becomes necessary first to establish the exact connotations and uses of these words. The earliest mention known to me of *ad detallium* is of the year 1207,⁴ where the older chart, of the year 1199, reads, "*eas pacifice vendant ad*

¹ *Le livre des métiers*, p. 38: "Marischaz, Greifiers, Hiaumiers, Veilliers, *Grossiers*"; p. 39: "Fevre, Marischal, *Grossier*, et Greffier et Hiaumiers pueent ovrer de nulz s'il leur plaist"; p. 254: "Fevres, Marissaus, Seruriers, Grayfiers de fier, Veilliers, Heaumiers, *Grossier*, Couteliers."

² *Ibid.*, p. 87: "Item, ne pevent ouvrer li Charpentier *grossier* ne Huchler ne Huissier, de nulz."

³ See F. Keutgen, *Der Grosshandel im Mittelalter*, in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang 1901, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 67-140.

⁴ "Practerea, predicti cives cum mercaturis quecumque fuerint, venientes in domaniis nostris, poterunt eas licite vendere *ad detallium* vel alio modo." A. Giry, *Les établissements de Rouen*, Paris, 1885, vol. ii, p. 59.

destallagium.”¹ At about the same time we get *ad tallium* in the south of France and later in Lucca and Siena.² The more common expression in Italy is *ritaglio* which in England, where *very many commercial terms owe their origin, with the commerce in which they are used, to Italy, and not to France*, produced the word *retail*.³ It is obvious that the expression *ad retaglum* arose in the cloth trade and referred to the sale of pieces cut off from the roll,⁴ and the laws quoted above show that the foreign traders were jealously kept from the far more profitable and desirable “retailing” of goods, which was the special privilege of the native merchant; hence in Pistoja they opposed a retail cloth dealer to one from France.⁵ But in many places the *tagliatori* were

¹ Other early cases of *à détail*: “A cels qui vendent *à détail* comme cils que achatent por revendre” (ann. 1229), J. Garnier, Chartes de communes et d’affranchissements en Bourgogne, Dijon, 1868, vol. ii, p. 29; “vendre en gros pour revendre *à détail*” (ann. 1307), Mémoires de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France, vol. ii, p. 136 f.

² Necquis extraneus pannos aliquos in hac villa vendere debet *at tallium*, nisi eos quos ad collum portaverit per villam.” *Consuetudines villae Montispezzulani* (ann. 1204), in A. Teulet, Layettes du Trésor des chartes, Paris, 1863, vol. i, p. 263. “Panni venduti *a tallio*.” F — L. Polidori, Statuti senesi scritti in volgare ne’ secoli XIII e XIV, Bologna, 1863, vol. i, p. 289 (ann. 1292), p. 226. “Ne mercatorum utilitas ad extraneos dividatur, decernimus statuantes quod nullus forensis undecumque sit . . . possit, audeat vel presumat vendere vel vendi facere per se vel aliam personam, directe vel per obliquum, aliquam mercandantiam videlicet setam, flugellum, sendada, *aurum*, orpellos vel arginpellos, *ad tallium* vel ad minutum vel minutatim, vel alias mercationes ad minutum vel minutatim, et maxime illas mercationes et merces quas emerit in Civitate Lucana, districtu vel fortia, directe vel per obliquum.” G. Tommasi, Sommario della storia di Lucca (Archivio storico italiano, vol. x), Firenze, 1847, Documenti, p. 62 (ann. 1308).

³ “Nullus de padua vendat drapos novos *ad retaium* in platea comunis.” Statuti del comune di Padova dal secolo XII all’anno 1285, Padova, 1873, p. 272 (ann. 1239). “Statuimus quod mercatores teneantur non emere nec emi facere ab aliquo forense qui venderet vel vendi faceret pannos aliquos in Bononia *ad retaglum* . . . non obstante quod forenses in feris valeant *retaglare*.” A. Gaudenzi, vol. ii, p. 121 (ann. 1264–72). “Fuit capta pars quod nullus de cetero audeat vendere pannos *ad retaglum* in aliqua parte in Veneciis, nisi in stacionibus comunis de subtus ubi venduntur panni *ad retaglum*.” G. Monticolo, op. cit., vol. i, p. 187. This law was revoked in 1304 (ibid., p. 193).

⁴ “Et ut non vendant vel vendi faciant aut consentiant per se vel per alium, ullo modo, aliquem scampulum, vel *ritallium* seu cantum alicuius panni.” F. Bonaini, Statuti inediti della città di Pisa, Firenze, 1857, vol. iii, p. 40.

⁵ Tende apotecarum mercatorum pannorum, tam de francia, quam de *ritallio*.” L. Zdekauer, Statutum potestatis comunis Pistorii anni 1296, Mediolani, 1988, p. 193.

identical with the German Gewandschneider, as for example, in Bergamo¹ and in Chiesa.² We find an excellent illustration of the jealously guarded retail trade in a letter of Margaret of Flanders of the year 1268, in which she asserts the rights of the merchants of Hamburg to keep the Flemings out of the retail trade.³ In Parma foreigners could sell cloth at wholesale or retail at certain fairs,⁴ and later this privilege was extended to all goods and for any time, in order to draw the foreign merchants to the city.⁵

One would think that the expression *in grosso et minuto* corresponded to our "wholesale and retail," but that would be far from the mark. Leaving out of consideration the meanings for *grossus* such as "big, coarse," *minutus*, "small, fine,"⁶ we shall confine ourselves to the definition of meanings that can throw a light upon the meaning of *gross* in "grocer." At Brescia, in 1251, long wool was considered a minute mercery, while fine wool and cotton were gross mer-

¹ Hist. pat. mon., vol. xvi, col. 2002 ff.

² Ibid., vol. xvii, col. 171 f.

³ "Praeterea mercatores nostri Flandrenses apud Hamburg vina afforare non poterint nec ibidem ea vendere per amphoras seu mensuras, nec pannos scindendo eos per ulnas, neque bona alia vendere particulariter per numeratas deneriatis, nisi hoc de civium et mercatorum Hamburgensium processerit voluntate." L. Gilliodts-van Severen, Cartulaire de l'ancienne estaple de Bruges, Bruges, 1904, vol. i, p. 53 f.

⁴ "Et Potestas teneatur operam dare bona fide sine fraude quod Flamenghi et Francigenes veniant in civitatem Parmae, et drapos vendant in grosso et in minuto quomodo voluerint in Parma." Statuta communis Parmae digesta anno 1255, Parmae, 1856, p. 61 (ann. 1226).

⁵ "Item omnes mercadanciae, cujuscumque conditionis fuerint, possint duci ad civitatem Parmae, et ibi vendi in grossum et minutum per quamlibet personam volentem vendere, non obstantibus aliquibus capitulis vel Statutis, ut major ubertas et melior numata possit habere in civitate Parmae." Statuta communis Parmae ab anno 1266 ad annum, 1304, Parmae, 1857, p. 68 f.

⁶ "Vendens animal grossum, dabit obolum Tolose pro leuda, de porco vel sue pictam, de animalibus minutis nihil solvet," (ann. 1241), Ordonnances des Roys de France, vol. xv, p. 424. "Quod nullus magister vel filicampus, de opera grossa vel de suptile, audeat comparare, campum cum restibus occasione ipsum revendendi." I capitolari delle arti veneziane, ibid., p. 102. "*Crossus et minutus* denarius," Statuti pisani, vol. i, pp. 291, 292, 378.

ceries.¹ In a fourteenth century law of Palermo, cheese, meat, wool, flax, hemp, cotton are considered gross goods.² In Venice they distinguished between *specie grosse*, which included ginger, cinnamon, pepper, clover, nutmegs, cassia, sandal-wood, etc., and *specie menude*, such as scammony, rhubarb, manna, aloes, turbith, terebenthina, etc.,³ and early in the fourteenth century the two kinds could not be sold by the same person,⁴ and a similar provision was made at Florence.⁵

In France, too, *en gros* and *à détail* have not the same meaning as "wholesale" and "retail." The *chanevacier*, canvas-seller, paid no customs for cloth sold in his stall or in the King's market at Paris at retail, except the usual stall duties, but had to pay an obole for every piece bought or sold, if it contained more than five ells. To protect the native dealers, the stranger merchants from Normandy could not cut the pieces at all, but had to sell them whole, that is, they were not allowed to sell *à détail*, cut-off pieces, but had to sell *en gros*, in the bulk.⁶

¹ "Quod mercathendia *minuta* intelligitur comuniter galetum, vel lana grossa, et his similia. Mercathendia *grossa* intelligitur lana subtilis panni, et bambucium, et his similia." Hist. pat. mon., vol. xvi, col. 1584 (109). In the law of 1313 "*cuminum*" is added among the *minuta mercathendia*. Ibid., col. 1716.

² "Licet omnibus et singulis civibus Panhormi ponderare, vendere, et emere casum, carnes, lanam, linum, canapem, cuttonem et quaecumque mercimonia *grossa* ad pondus, quod dicitur quarteronus." Constitutiones regni Siciliae, vol. i, Part 1, p. 53 f.

³ Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venice, London, 1864, vol. i, p. cxxvii ff.

⁴ "Salvo quod ille persone que habent bulletam vendendi *ad minutum*, possint vendere res contentas in sua bulleta solummodo et non alias res que pertinent *ad speciarum*." I cap. d. art. venez., vol. i, p. 168.

⁵ "Et quod nullus mercator *crossus* vel alia persona teneat in sua apotheca nec vendat vel vendi faciat piperem *minutum*." Lib. III, cap. xxxiv, *ibid*.

⁶ "Li home forein de Normandie et d'ailleurs, qui amennent toilles a cheval a Paris pour vendre, il ne pueent ne ne doivent vendre ou marchié de par le Roy *a détail*; et se il le font, il perdent toute la toile qui est *detailliée*. Et ce ont ordené li preud'omme du mestier, pour ce que li Roys i perdoit sa coustume; quar li home forein doivent de chacune toile que il vendent *en gros* obole de coustume, et de tout ce que l'en vent *a détail* ou marchié le Roy l'en ne doit que obole de coustume de tout la journée: par coi li Rois seroit deceu de sa coustume, se li home forain *detailloient*." Le livre des métiers, p. 121.

The transition from the idea of bulkiness and detached pieces to that of wholesale and retail is a perfectly natural one, and this change has taken place, now in one trade, now in another, according to its very essence, but it will not be hard to show that even through the fourteenth century the old conception of relative bulk predominated. For this purpose we shall analyze the Ordinance of the Fishmongers at Amiens, which belongs to the second half of that century.¹ Strangers who brought fish to Amiens could sell it themselves, either *en gros* or *à détail*, by paying a certain tax for the hire of a stall (art. 1.) Fish sent in by outsiders was consigned to the *grossier*, who sold it *en gros* for the stated fee of 2 sous per somme (2). Before any one else could provide himself with fish, each *grossier* received 2 sommes, and if there was a greater abundance brought in, the surplus was divided out equally among all the *grossiers* (3, 4). There were similar provisions of mutual aid among *grossiers*, in case of scarcity of fish (5). The paniers of fish sold *en gros* were, as to full measure, bought at the risk of the *détail* merchants, or of those who otherwise bought them (ou par autrez qui acheter les volront) (7). No fish could be kept over to the next day in summer or two days in winter, (9-12). There were to be in Amiens 14 sellers of fish *en gros* and no more (18). Similarly there were to be but 24 venders *à détail* (19). The *en gros* price was by the hundred, but the merchant had to sell the fish at the same price by the demicent, the quarteron, or the demi-quarteron (22). There was still a third way of trading which in the Ordinance is denominated *à loyer*. Apparently the *grossiers* or the importing

¹ A. Thierry, Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du Tiers État, première série, tome deuxième, Paris, 1853, p. 139 ff.

fishmongers sent out men to sell for them for a stated wage or salary. There is a provision that a taverner, a cook, or any private person could neither buy nor sell *à détail* or *à loyer* (28, 30). A fishmonger, *poissonier*, could sell only 2 paniers a day, unless there was a great abundance in the market (31). Foreigners and *grossiers* could sell their fish *en gros* until the second bell, after which they had to give it *à loyer* to venders who sold them *à détail* (36).

From the above we see that the *grossier* was not a wholesale dealer, but more nearly a commission merchant, whose chief function was the equitable distribution of the fish among venders and others who purchased directly from him. On the other hand, the foreign merchant who brought the fish to Amiens was privileged to sell either *en gros* or *à détail*. Wherever the outsider was restricted to sales *en gros*, he felt it as a distinct discrimination against him, as the advantage to every mediaeval merchant was entirely on the side of the retail trade. In the case of such perishable goods as fish, which at the end of the day had to be thrown away,¹ it was more profitable for the importing fishmonger to dispose of it at once through the intermediary *grossier*. This arrangement proved insufficient, for beginning with art. 28 we have what apparently is a later addition. A second link was added between the importing fishmonger and the retailer, that of the vender selling for the fishmonger or *grossier* for a stated wage. The retailer sold in small quantities or even by the pound, chopping up the fish. At the end of the thirteenth century the fishvender *à détail* was distinctly one who cut up the fish.² He merely reached the poorer people,

¹ Ibid., art. 49.

² Giry, op. cit., p. 507: "Chil ki vent porpois *à détail* doit taillier le cras avec le malgre."

and was more like our modern hawker. That all the fish did not reach the consumer through the retailer is evident from the abnormal relation of the number of retailers to *grossiers*. As each retailer could sell but two paniers¹ a day, and the average amount handled by a *grossier* was two horse-loads, three or four *grossiers* would have supplied all the twenty-four venders with fish. Consequently the vast amount of fish on hand with the remaining *grossiers* was either sold by means of the venders à *loyer* or directly to restaurant-keepers, taverners, and hostelries, and many a private person must have availed himself of purchasing by the quarteron or demi-quarteron, that is, by the smaller measures or quantities.

It can be shown from a variety of sources that the *grossier* was frequently dispensed with as an intermediary of trade. Thus Philippe-le-Bel in 1305 provided that the people should be able to purchase their victuals at the same price as offered to the *grossiers*.² In *Le rôle de la taille imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292*,³ the *grossiers* are not mentioned at all, obviously because they not yet formed a distinct class, even as they are absent, but for the carpenter and smith *grossiers*, from the *Livre des métiers*. In 1320 we find for the first time *grossier* and *detaillieur* fishmongers at Paris,⁴ and their exact meaning is ascertainable from an ordinance of the year 1324, where a *grossier* is held to be one who sells in the

¹ In Paris, a panier held from 50-60 fresh mackerels, R. de Lespinasse, *Histoire générale de Paris*, vol. i, p. 411.

² "Item nous voulons et ordenons que de toutes denrées venans á Paris, puis que elles seront afeurées, tout le commun en puisse avoir par un tel pris comme li *grossiers* les acheteront." Ibid., p. 198.

³ H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, Paris, 1837.

⁴ "Item que nuls ne puist estre *grossier* et *detaillieur* de la meisme marchandise dudit mestier, sur painne de l'amende." R. de Lespinasse, *Hist. gén. d. Paris*, vol. i, p. 414.

name of a foreign merchant, while those who sell on their own account, by the hundred, the demicent, the quarteron, or two, three, or four herrings at a time are held to be *detaillleurs*.¹ Here *en gros* means the undivided mass, as received in commission from the foreign merchant, and the privilege granted to the *detailleur* to sell by the hundredweight only accentuates the fact that the relation between the two is not the same as that between the wholesaler and the retailer, as we understand it today. When, therefore, a law of Edward II of the year 1311 permits no *grosser* of wine to be taverner and vice versa, the *grosser* is not to be taken as a wholesale merchant, but only as a foreign trader who sold first to all "goodmen," and only later to any one who might wish to buy."² We thus find in England the same conditions as regards the conceptions of what constituted the gross and retail as on the continent, and the law just quoted precludes the assumptions of the economic writers that the *grosser* was at the start a wholesale dealer, and the explanation given as to the origin of the *grocer* falls to the ground.

We shall now try constructively to establish the genesis of the English grocer. One of the most frequently recurring set of laws in Italy in the thirteenth

¹ Item que tous cens doudit mestier qui vendent ou nom des marcheans forains sont et seront tenus pour *grossiers*, tant seulement, et ceuls qui vendent par cens, par demi cens et par quarterons et par deux trois ou quatre harens, ou nom d'eulz et par euls, sont et seront tenus pour *detaillleurs*." Ibid., p. 416.

² Et avant ceo q'il soyent herbergiez, soit chescon tonel, merche al un bout et al autre, du merke du gauge, issint que l'achatour puisse apertement veer la defaute du tonel. Et apres ceo qe les vynes seront herbergez, demoergent en pees par trois jours, issint q'il ne soyent mustrez ne mys a vente dedent les troys jours, s'il ne soit as grantz seignurs et as autres bones gentz, pur lur estor ou pur lur user. Et apres les troys jours vendent as totes gentz qi achatier les vodront et deveront solonc ceo qe annelament soloyent faire. . . . Et que nul *grossour* de vyn ne soit taverner, ne nul taverner ne soit *grossour*." J. Delpit, Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre, Paris, 1847, p. 45.

century is that which deals with the manner of weighing goods, and the investigation of this subject alone would demand much time and labor. I shall, therefore, confine myself here to the treatment of the same laws in the North. That they are derived from the Italian laws will appear from philological considerations alone.¹ In 1280 Count Guido of Flanders gave the merchants of Spain and Germany who visited Aardenburg a franchise in which the first reference to precise weighing is found in the North.² The demand that the hand be not placed on the weighing side of the scales was in 1303 repeated word for word in a franchise granted to German and other foreign merchants in England by Edward I.³

This was so novel a departure for England that Edward I next year repeated the injunction literally in a letter to the mayor and aldermen of London, insisting that the privilege of equitable weighing be granted to the foreign merchants, or cause be shown why the City of London did not comply with his demand. To this the answer came that from time immemorial it had been the custom to weigh in favor of the purchaser and that the new law would discrimi-

¹ The first mention of just weighing, from which all the later ones are derived, is to be found in the Theodosian Code (Mommsen's ed., p. 722): "*nec pondera depri-mant nullo examinis libramento servato, nec aequis ac paribus suspenso statere momentis.*"

² "Que li marchant aient pois de balanches et ke li peseres poise tout en fin et ke li oste ses mains dou pois et ke li marchans u autres fire les balanches de le main en la moienne de la balance, parquoi ele ne voise plus dune part ke dautre, et ke li marchans puet contredire le peseur sans rien mesfaire." K. Höhlbaum, *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Halle, 1876, vol. i, p. 296.

³ "Item volumus, ordinamus et statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria et feria regni nostri predicti et alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur et ante ponderacionem statera in presencia emptoris et venditoris vacua videatur et quod brachia sint equalia, et extunc ponderator ponderet in equali, et cum stateram posuerit in equali, statim amoveat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in equali, quodque per totum regnum et potestatem nostram unum sit pondus et una mensura et signo standardi nostri signentur." *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 16.

nate against the citizens of London.¹ But the King was persistent and a month later repeated the law and called the mayor and aldermen of London to account.²

The dispute between the King and the city of London lasted until the year 1309, when an amicable arrangement was made: "Whereas frequently aforetime many and divers contentions used to arise between foreign merchants selling and free merchants (*mercatores privatos*) buying divers goods of weight (*averia ponderis*) and spices which used to be weighed as well by the great balance as by the small, inasmuch as there was uncertainty in the draft of weight (*super tractu ponderacionis*), for that the weigher gave to some more and to some less as was reported; for avoiding and removing which contentions in future it was agreed the day, etc., by Thomas Romayn, the Mayor and the Aldermen, and with the assent of Luke de Haverynge, William de Bydik, Ralph le Balauncer, Peter Adrian, William le Barber, John Godelmynge, Richard de Dorsete, Richard de Spain, citizens and merchants of London, and John le Lung, Hildebrand de Nova Curia, James Fisshe, John Pope, Richard Sware, Bertram de Coloigne, John de Sterne-

¹ "Modus ponderandi averia ad civitatem Londoniensem venientia, a tempore quo non extat memoria talis extitit et adhuc existit, quod statera trahat versus meliorem, hoc est, versus rem emptam et eodem modo venduntur dicta averia archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus et aliis quibuscumque in dicta civitate, hujusmodi averia ementibus, et ista consuetudine et modo ponderandi antecessores nostri usi fuerunt et nos hactenus usi sumus ac dominus rex noster libertates et etiam liberatas consuetudines nostras, quas ex concessione progenitorum suorum regum Anglie habemus et quibus huc usque usi sumus, nobis per cartam suam confirmaverit, per quod, consuetudines civitatis sue usitatas et approbatas per concessionem extraneis mercatoribus nunc factam in dampnum et prejudicium civium suorum et etiam magnatum nec non communitatis regni sui mutare non possimus nec debemus: presertim, cum in carta eis facta contineatur, quod ponderatio, in forma in dicta carta contenta, fiat ubi contra dominum loci aut libertatem per ipsum dominum regem vel antecessores suos concessam illud non fuerit, sive contra villarum et feriarum consuetudinem hactenus approbatum." Delpit, *op. cit.*, p. 40. A translation of this is to be found in R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Books, Letter-Book C*, London, 1901, p. 127 f.

² *Ibid.*

berwe, Henry de Colon', Lambekyn Heved, Roland de Colonia, Henekin atte Nwe, merchants of Almaine, and John de Pitleacre, Francis de Gene, Antonin de Gene, John de Cotesawe, Nicholas de la Spade, Bartholomew Lespicer, John de Perem, Ymbert de Luka, Peter le Rous, and Chonel de Luka, merchants of Lombardy and Provence, that all merchandise of weight (mercandise *averii ponderis*), as of wax, almonds, rices (riseis), copper, tin, and the like, which are weighed by the balance, shall for the future be weighed evenly; that the weigher remove his hands therefrom, so that the weigher, when he weighs, in weighing place the balance even and remove his hands therefrom, so that neither to the seller nor to the buyer he shall appear to give or take anything but what is fair in any way; and that each hundred of such grosses (*grossis*) of aver de pois (*averii ponderis*) shall contain 112 pounds, and each hundred of small spices, viz., ginger, saffron, sugar, maces (*mazis*), and others of the kind which are sold by the pound (*per libram*), shall contain 104 pounds. And the weigher was enjoined not to weigh otherwise under penalty of imprisonment, etc. And further it was forbidden that any merchant, stranger, or free (*privatus*), should sell or buy otherwise than by the balance, and not by retail (*ad detall'*), under penalty, etc. Saving always the estate of the lord the King and of his Wardrobe when they wish to weigh that they weigh as before has been accustomed, if they please, until it be ordained otherwise by the King himself and his Counsel, etc. And this ordinance was made on Monday the eve of St. Martin [11 Nov.], the third year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward [A.D. 1309]."¹

¹ Letter-Book D, p. 209 f.

It is clear enough that the grocers were those who sold the *grosses*, as mentioned above, and that, at least popularly, they were so named from the law of 1309. Indeed, the first mention of a grocer is from the year 1310: "John Gut' grosser (*grossarius*) of Soperslane."¹ Formerly they were called pepperers; now the name of grocers slowly supersedes the older appellation. In 1312 pepperers, corders, ironmongers, apothecaries, and others are included among those who busy themselves with *aver de pois* (*se intro-mittunt de averio ponderis*).² In 1345 the Mistery of the *aver de pois* (*mester' averii ponderis*) apparently included all the above-mentioned ones, tho Sharpe speaks of them as pepperers.³ In 1319 Thomas de Enefeld is called a pepperer,⁴ in 1328 he is chosen into the Mistery of Grocers,⁵ and in the place of the spicerers we at the same time hear of apothecaries, and again, in 1376, London had a mayor who was a pepperer, and a sheriff, a grocer.⁶

The forestalling of commodities is, of course, older than the origin of the grocers, so, for example, the City of Lincoln in 1315 asked for a remedy against the merchants who bought up fish and other eatables and wares and then sold them to the people at an enormously increased price.⁷ In 1363 the same complaint is directed against the merchants called *grocers* because of their *engrossing* all kinds of vendable goods (*les Marchantz nomez Grossers engrossent*

¹ Letter-Book B, p. 250.

² Letter-Book D, p. 296.

³ Letter-Book F, p. 127.

⁴ Letter-Book E, p. 126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 232. But all these names should be verified, as it is not clear from Sharpe's use of the words what the original may have been.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁷ Rolls of Parliament I, p. 290.

toutes maneres de Marchandies vendables)¹, but it is absurd to assume, as has been done by philologists and economists, that the grocers were called so from their engrossing wares. The opposite supposition would have been nearer the truth, but in reality the relation between *grocer* and *engross* is as real as that between "broker" and "break," or "broker" and *broc* "the tap," as has been suggested by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. My task is done as far as the ascertainment of the origin of the word *grocer* is concerned, — the subsequent history of the grocer belongs to economic history proper.² But I still have the important problem before me of elucidating the origin of the grocer's trade and of explaining a number of terms connected with it, such as *avoir de pois*, *statera*, *grossum*, for which one would in vain look for proper treatment in dictionaries and economic histories.

At the end of the ninth century Leo the Wise of Byzantium published an edict on the corporations of Constantinople³ which is a precious relic by which the origins of mediaeval trades may be ascertained. The chapter on the regraters (σαλδαμάριοι)⁴ runs as follows: "The regraters shall open shops (ἐργαστήρια)⁵ throughout the city, in the streets and villages, so as to make it easy to find those things which are needed for the sustenance of life. Let them sell meat, dried fish, flour, cheese, honey, oil, every kind of

¹ Ibid. II, p. 277.

² J. A. Kingdon, in his Facsimile of First Volume of MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London [London], 1886, Part I, p. 14, completely overlooks the laws of 1303, 1305, and 1309, and so distorts the origin of the grocers.

³ Le livre du préfet, publié par J. Nicole, Genève, 1893, in Mémoires de l'Institut national genevois, vol. xviii.

⁴ Ibid., p. 47, f.

⁵ On the relation of this word to *regrater*, see my Byzantinisches I, in Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 1910.

vegetables, butter, dry and liquid pitch, resin, hemp, flax, gypsum, vessels, tubs, nails, and all other things which are sold by the steelyard (*καμπανοῖς*) and not by the balance (*ζυγοῖς*). They are not permitted to deal in other goods, of the spicerers (*μυρεψικὴν*), soapchangers, linendrapers, taverners, or butchers, in any shape or manner. . . . If a regrater be caught playing a trick in selling, or increasing the established price, let him be fined ten nomismata. . . . The regraters should watch the imported wares, such as appertain to them, so that one not belonging to their corporation who may store them up against a time of scarcity be pointed out to the prefect and punished by him. Regraters should sell their wares at retail (*λεπτομερῶς*) in such a way as to gain no more than two miliarisia on each nomisma. If, however, upon examination of their weights, it be found that they have gained more, they should be beaten and shaved and forbidden to ply their trade."

The regulation of the spicerers' trade is as follows ¹: "Every spicerer should have his own place, without tricking his neighbor. Let them so treat one another that the goods be not lowered in price or too much divided up by some. Let them not have any regrater's or other vile wares in their shops, for there is no union between ill-smelling and well-smelling things. Let them sell pepper, spikenard, cinnamon, lignaloe, amber, musk, incense, myrrh, balsam, and all other things which pertain to the spicerer's and dyer's trade. . . . Let them not accumulate the wares for the sake of making profit in time of dearth, nor immoderately increase the price. Nor may the merchants who import them stay longer than three months, but they must return home as quickly as they have

¹ Ibid., p. 41.

sold their wares.¹ . . . None of them is permitted to buy steelyard or regrater's wares (καμπανικὸν ἢ σαλδαμαρικὸν εἶδος), but only those which are bought by the balance."²

Species makes its appearance in Late Latin in the sense of "goldware," "clothes," and "spices." In all of these meanings it is the translation of Greek εἶδος, which is frequently met with in the papyri from the second century on, and in the sense of "spices" it is recorded by Stephanus from Hippocrates, in the fifth century B.C. I suspect that in this latter sense it is an Eastern trade word, either a translation or adaptation of some foreign word, and I tentatively suggest Chinese *wei-lei*, lit. the smelling kind, aromatica species, the common word for spices, as the basis for εἶδος. This εἶδος refers in our Byzantine source to the wares of the spicerer as well as the regrater,³ but, as in the East, so in Byzantium, the first, being precious, were weighed with the more delicate balance, whereas the latter were weighed by the less precise beam of unequal arms, hence the Venetian division of Eastern goods, more particularly spices, into *specie grosse* and *specie menude*, and thus *grossum* came to be identified with the less costly spices and victuals.

¹ This restriction against the foreign merchant is universal throughout the early Middle Ages, hence the origin of the Hare de drap. Here is one striking case of the end of the thirteenth century in England: "It petunt quod Rex appon' remedium de eo quod alienigene Mercator' dominantur et ditantur de Mercandisis in Civit' et cives depauperantur, qui onera sustinent quotiens necesse est: non enim consueverant morar' ultra quadraginta dies, infra quos solebant vendere aliis de regno, qui de lucro vivebant, Et nunc extranei illud lucrum asportaverunt. — Rex intend' quod Mercatores extranei sunt ydonei, et util' Magnatibus, et non habet consilium eos expellendi" (ann. 1290). Rolls of Parliament, vol. i, p. 55.

² The chandlers, soapchandlers, and hog merchants also used steelyards.

³ In the Rhodian Law (W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law*, Oxford, 1909, p. 35), εἶδος has the meaning of goods transported by a ship; in the *Basilica lib. XI, tit. II* (ed. Heimbach, vol. i, p. 681), τρῶφιμα εἶδη is translated by "species ad victum necessariae."

The name of *aver de pois* applied to such spices and victuals has arisen through a series of translations or, rather, mistranslations. Recent studies on the weights of the Middle Ages¹ contain some serious oversights on account of the misconception of what constituted a *pondus*. While it is quite true that in Carolingian times a *pondus* became in some way identified with the *libra*, the pound, this was not universally the case. It either preserved the classical meaning of "weight, burden" or more often became identified with the weighing machine and its system of relative weights. When a charter of the year 1185 says, "tres librae cerae ad *parvum Pondus*, vel una ad *magnum Pondus*,"² it is obvious that the large and small beams are meant, and that the large beam in this case had its arms in proportion of 1 to 3. So, too, *pondus* means the great beam in "et etiam *pondus nostrum* de Antissiodoro (in perpetuum et gratis donamus."³ At Montpellier the lowest weight of the *pondus* was 8½ lbs., "unum certum *pondus*, ponderans octo libras et dimidiam."⁴ The same meaning was given in Sicily to *pondus*,⁵ with which cheese, meat, wool, flax, hemp, cotton, and all other *gross* wares were to be weighed. This *pondus* was there also called *quartaronus*, *quaranteno*,⁶ *cantaro*. But the *cantaro* is not, as is generally supposed, identical with the *centenarium*. In Genoa some things were early in the

¹ B. Hilliger, Studien zu mittelalterlichen Maassen und Gewichten, in Historische Vierteljahrschrift, III (1900); P. Guilhiermoz, Note sur les poids du moyen age, in Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXVII (1906).

² Du Cange, sub *pondus*.

³ Germain, op. cit., p. 309 (ann. 1296).

⁴ Gallia christiana, vol. iv, Instrumenta, col. 102.

⁵ See above, p. 265, n. 2.

⁶ G. Rezasco, Dizionario del linguaggio italiano storico ed amministrativo, Firenze, 1881, sub *cantatarata*.

twelfth century weighed by the *cantarius*, while others, apparently grosser goods, by the *centenarium*, or hundredweight.¹ According to a tariff of the year 1204 a threefold distinction is made, for some goods are sold by the *cantarius*, others by the *centenarium*, others again by the pound.² In addition, there are also other names for the beam, *rubus*,³ *spola*,⁴ *cristo*,⁵ and the French and English *trone*, which need to be investigated. The usual equivalent for *pondus* was *pensum* so that *averium ponderis*, which is an exact translation of the *καμπανικὸν εἶδος* of the Edict, is rendered in French as *aver de pois*, Italian *avere di peso*, that is, what originally meant "the goods of the beam" came to be identified with their manner of weighing. A far more common name for the beam was Lat. *statera*, Italian *stadera*, from which, no doubt, Middle English *stillere*, *stellere*, English *steelyard*, is derived. Thus, the history of *grocer*, *retail*, *steelyard*⁶ shows that the grocer's trade in England is chiefly due to the activity of Italian merchants, and that the Italian grocer's trade itself was derived directly from Byzantium.

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¹ Hist. pat. mon., vol. vii, cols. 71, 72, 513.

² "De omnibus mercibus que renduntur ad pensum *cantarii* at *centanarii*, de omnibus mercibus et speciebus que uenduntur ad pensum libre." Ibid., col. 521. For various weight values of *cantarius* and *centenarium* see Schaube, op. cit., p. 814 ff.

³ Ibid., cols. 68, 71, 103, vol. xvi, col. 2001.

⁴ Ibid., vol. xvi, col. 2001.

⁵ Ibid., vol. vii, col. 202.

⁶ See also the history of the apothecary and regrater in my Byzantinisches.